A SCHOOL OF CHRISTIAN HEBRAISTS IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND: A UNIQUE HEBREW-LATIN-FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY AND ITS SOURCES[1]

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Abstract

This paper is a preliminary presentation of a unique Hebrew-Latin-Old French dictionary written by Christian scholars in 13th century England, to appear shortly in print. The authors of this exceptional work did not follow the patristic tradition of Christian Hebraism and did not focus on anti-Jewish polemics, but rather turned to Jewish Rabbinic and Medieval sources, such as commentaries of Rachi, the lexicon of Solomon ibn Parḥon or Alpha Beta de-Ben Sira for their understanding of the Hebrew text of the Bible. Following the grammatical approach of the classical Spanish school of Hebrew grammar, this dictionary is a real 'philological' work. It stems from a Christian tradition of the use of the Hebrew Bible for correcting the Vulgate as represented by the bilingual Hebrew-Latin Bible manuscripts produced and studied in England in the late 12th and 13th centuries.

Modern historiography generally holds a poor opinion of the knowledge of the Hebrew language and grammar among Christian scholars in

[1] This paper constitutes a brief preliminary presentation of a unique lexicographical work emanating from a 13th century school of Christian Hebraism in England. The edition of this work was prepared, under my responsibility, by a team of researchers at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Texts, CNRS, Paris (in alphabetical order): Philippe Bobichon, Gilbert Dahan, François Dolbeau, Anne Grondeux, Geneviève Hasenohr, Raphael Loewe (London), Patricia Stirnemann, Jean-Pierre Rothschild, with collaboration of Richard Marsden (Nottingham) in the field of Middle English and James Carley (Toronto) in the field of the history of monastic libraries in England. The members of the team participated in the transcription of the text and analysed it from the point of view of their own fields of research. In this paper, I develop some issues of my own research on the text, and I refer to the independent work of the other members of the research team. The commented critical edition of the dictionary is presently in print at Brepols, Turnhout (Belgium), in the series *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*. In this paper, I will quote from the original text using the editorial conventions adopted by this forthcoming publication. Thus, for instance vAleph 34 means: the entry nº 34 of the section of words beginning with Aleph, of the part I devoted to verbs, and nQoph 1 means: the entry nº 1 of the section of words beginning with Qoph, of the part II devoted to nouns (and other parts of speech).

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the Middle Ages, following in this respect Roger Bacon's (c. 1214–1292) bitter remarks.[2] However, there is at present ample evidence that Christian scholars in England in the 12th and 13th century possessed Hebrew books and diligently studied them, chiefly the Bible but also commentaries of Rashi and various other literary and grammatical texts. What is more, the Hebrew manuscripts were used to elaborate the new and original handbooks designed to enable Christian scholars to learn Hebrew 'by their own means', without the help of a Jewish teacher, and use it for Bible interpretation and translation. It has been notably argued that some authors of biblical *correctoria*[3] and commentaries, copyists and students of bilingual Hebrew-Latin bibles,[4] and authors of various grammatical notes found in Latin manuscripts[5] display a surprisingly solid and thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language and Jewish sources.

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[2] Notably, he complained about the ignorance of Hebrew among his contemporaries "fewer than four of which knew Hebrew grammar well enough to be able to teach it," cf. Roger Bacon, *Opus tertium*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London: Longman, Geen, Longman and Roberts, 1859), 33–34. For the general background of Christian Hebraism in 12th and 13th century England, see especially Raphael Loewe, "The Mediaeval Christian Hebraists of England. Herbert of Bosham and earlier scholars," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 17 (1953): 225–249.

[3] Gilbert Dahan, "La connaissance de l'hébreu dans les correctoires de la Bible du XIII[e] siècle. Notes préliminaires," in *Rashi 1040–1990. Hommage à Ephraïm E. Urbach. Congès européen des études juives*, ed. G. Sed-Rajna (Paris: Éd. Du Cerf, 1993): 567–578; Gilbert Dahan, "La critique textuelle dans les correctoires de la Bible du XIII[e] siècle," in *Langages et Philosophie. Hommage à Jean Jolivet*, eds A. de Libera et al., *Etudes de Philosophie Médiévale* 74 (Paris: Vrin, 1997): 365–392.

[4] We know today of 26 bilingual Hebrew-Latin manuscripts which were produced in England between the mid-12th and late 13th century with the explicit purpose to serve as support for Christian Hebrew studies, see especially Samuel N. Berger, *Quam notitiam Linguae Hebraicae habuerint Christiani medii aevi temporibus in Gallia* (Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1893); Beryl Smalley, "Hebrew scholarship among Christians in 13th century England as illustrated by some Hebrew-Latin Psalters," *Lectiones in Vetere Testamento et in Rebus Iudaicis* 6 (London: Society for Old Testament Studies, 1939); idem, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press ,1964); Raphael Loewe, "The mediaeval Christian hebraists of England. The Superscriptio Lincolniensis," *HUCA* 28 (1957): 205–252; idem, "Latin superscriptio MSS on portions of the Hebrew Bible other than the Psalter," *JJS* 9 (1958): 63–71; Malachi Beit-Arié, "The Valmadonna Pentateuch and the problem of pre-expulsion Anglo-Hebrew manuscripts—MS London, Valmadonna Trust Library 1: England (?), 1189," in *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book. Studies in Palaeography and Codicology*, ed. Malachi Beit-Arié (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993), 129–151; Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux dans l'Angleterre médiévale: étude historique et paléographique* (Paris-Louvain: Peeters, 2003).

[5] E.g. MS Toulouse 402, see Benoît Grévin, "L'hébreu des Franciscains. Nouveaux éléments sur la connaissance de l'hébreu en milieu chrétien au XIII[e] siècle," *Médiévales* 41 (2001): 65–82.

It is something of an irony that most of the Christian scholars who did master the Hebrew language and were able to study Jewish texts are not known to us by name, while Roger Bacon (who often expressed harsh judgments on his fellow Christian Hebraists) and his Franciscan milieu came to be acclaimed 'the Christian Hebraists of the Middle Ages' *par excellence*,[6] despite the lack of evidence that they achieved any serious proficiency in Hebrew.[7]

A real breakthrough in the study of medieval Christian Hebraism is the identification of a complete dictionary of biblical Hebrew copied in England, most probably in the Benedictine abbey at Ramsey (East Anglia) in the third quarter of the 13th century (but based on earlier mid-13th century sources) and contained in a unique manuscript within the collection of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat House (MS 21). The manuscript itself was mentioned by Raphael Loewe in 1961,[8] but it remained unpublished[9] and ignored by scholars who continued to believe that there existed no Christian Hebrew dictionaries prior to the Renaissance.[10] It is only recently that the critical edition of this fascinating dictionary was undertaken by a team of scholars based at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris,

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[6] The leading role of the Franciscans was notably claimed for the creation of the bilingual Bible manuscripts. B. Smalley, who focused in particular on a literal Hebrew-based Latin translation written between the lines of the Hebrew text in some of them, claimed that, as far as the book of Psalms is concerned, this translation derives from the project initiated by the Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste (c. 1175–1253).

[7] Indeed, the one folio of the notes on Hebrew grammar attributed to Roger Bacon shows (if he is really their author) that his own knowledge of Hebrew was very elementary and inadequate, see MS Cambridge UL Ff. 6. 13, ed. Samuel Abraham Hirsch, "The Hebrew grammar of Roger Bacon", in *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon*, ed. Edmond Nolan, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902): 201–208.

[8] R. Loewe, "Jewish scholarship in England," in *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History*, ed. Vivian David Lipman (Cambridge: Heffer, 1961), 133.

[9] For a brief description, cf. Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux*, 188–196; idem, "A Christian tradition of Hebrew vocalisation in Medieval England," in *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorf*, ed. Geoffrey Khan (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), 133–136.

[10] Cf. Gilbert Dahan, "Lexiques hébreu-latin? Les recueils d'interprétations des noms hébraïques," in *Les Manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'Antiquité tardive à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internat. des Inst. d'Études Médiévales, 1996), 481; Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, "The knowledge and practice of Hebrew grammar among Christian scholars in pre-expulsion England: the evidence of 'bilingual' Hebrew-Latin manuscripts," in *Hebrew Scholarship and the Medieval World*, ed. Nicholas de Lange (Cambridge: Cambridge Universtiy Press, 2001), 107–108.

and will appear in print very shortly. The detailed analysis of the text carried out by the project has confirmed that the dictionary from Longleat House is without any doubt the most important and comprehensive source for the study of Christian Hebraism and Jewish-Christian intellectual contacts in the Middle Ages known so far.

The detailed results of the study of this exceptional work are presented in the forthcoming edition. This paper contains a preliminary description of the manuscript and its contents; it dwells in some detail upon the question of various sources used by the Christian Hebraists who composed it. First, Jewish rabbinic and lexicographical works that are quoted in the dictionary, and whose manuscripts were available and studied by its authors are identified. Second, I attempt to explain a conspicuous reluctance of the authors of the dictionary to quote Latin patristic and medieval sources. Last but very importantly, the paper deals with the identification and a brief description of some of the immediate sources of the dictionary: a series of Hebrew manuscripts annotated in Latin (still in existence), whose Latin glosses and translations were used and even copied *verbatim* as the entries of the dictionary. These 'primary' sources of the dictionary, its real 'building blocks,' (as distinct from its 'secondary' sources, i.e. independent Jewish or Christian work referred to or hinted at by the authors) give a unique insight into the process of creation of the dictionary itself and into the methods of intellectual work in the Middle Ages in general.

The Manuscript

The Hebrew dictionary forms part of a bound volume in the collection of the Marquess of Bath, in the Library of Longleat House (Wiltshire). It contains six different works:[11] (1) *Predicamenta Sancti Augustini* (fols 1–19), (2) *Tractatus de urinis* (fols 19–23), (3) *Liber de virtute simplicis medicine* (fols 23–28), (4) the dictionary (fols 29–143), (5) a Hebrew Psalter with a Latin translation and marginalia

[11] A short description of the contents of the volume is to be found in the handwritten catalogue of the manuscripts at Longleat House: *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Nobilissimi Viri Johannis Alexandri, Marchionis Bathoniae apud Longleate* (Longleat, 1864).

(fols 144–192)[12] as well as (6) a Hebrew grammar in Hebrew and Latin (fols 193–204).[13] The present binding dates from the 17th century, but, as we shall see, it seems that all of these texts belonged to the same monastic library, some were copied by the same Latin scribe and all except the Hebrew Psalter (5) constituted a codicological entity already in the Middle Ages. The three texts which concern Hebrew (4–6) were originally three independent works: their handwriting, the dimensions of the pages and the quality of parchment differ, and they were of course copied on different quires. In the 17th century, the manuscript belonged to Sir Henry Spelman, whose signature can be read on fol. 1r. It was acquired for the library of the Marquess of Bath, together with some ten other manuscripts, from Spelman's heirs.

The dictionary itself is middle-sized (260 × 190 mm) and contains 115 folios (fols 143v-29). It is written on good quality soft whitish parchment. There is a slight difference between flesh and hair sides: the former is white and the later is light yellow with some traces of grain visible in the margins. Latin and Hebrew texts are copied in dark brown ink. The paragraph signs marking the new entries of the dictionary are alternatively blue and red. The dictionary contains ten quires. The quires were pricked in outer, lower and upper margins (no pricking in inner margins), and the traces of the pricking are sometimes visible, although the margins of the manuscript were heavily trimmed at the binding. The pricking guides the ruling which was traced page after page with a brown metallic 'pencil.' There are ten vertical lines (one on each side of the four columns of the text, and two additional lines in the margins) and forty one to forty three horizontal lines. The first and the second horizontal line as well as the last and the one before the last are longer than the others.

The dictionary is copied in four columns per page, two in Hebrew and two in Latin characters (cf. Plate 1), in the Hebrew direction, from right to left. Also the order of the columns is from right to left, the text in the right-hand column precedes that in the left-hand column. However, the Hebrew columns are placed at the left of the corresponding Latin columns. The Hebrew column consists of

[12] Loewe, "The mediaeval Christian hebraists of England": 221; Beit-Arié, "The Valmadonna Pentateuch": 134.

[13] This interesting grammar is the object of a separate study, in preparation.

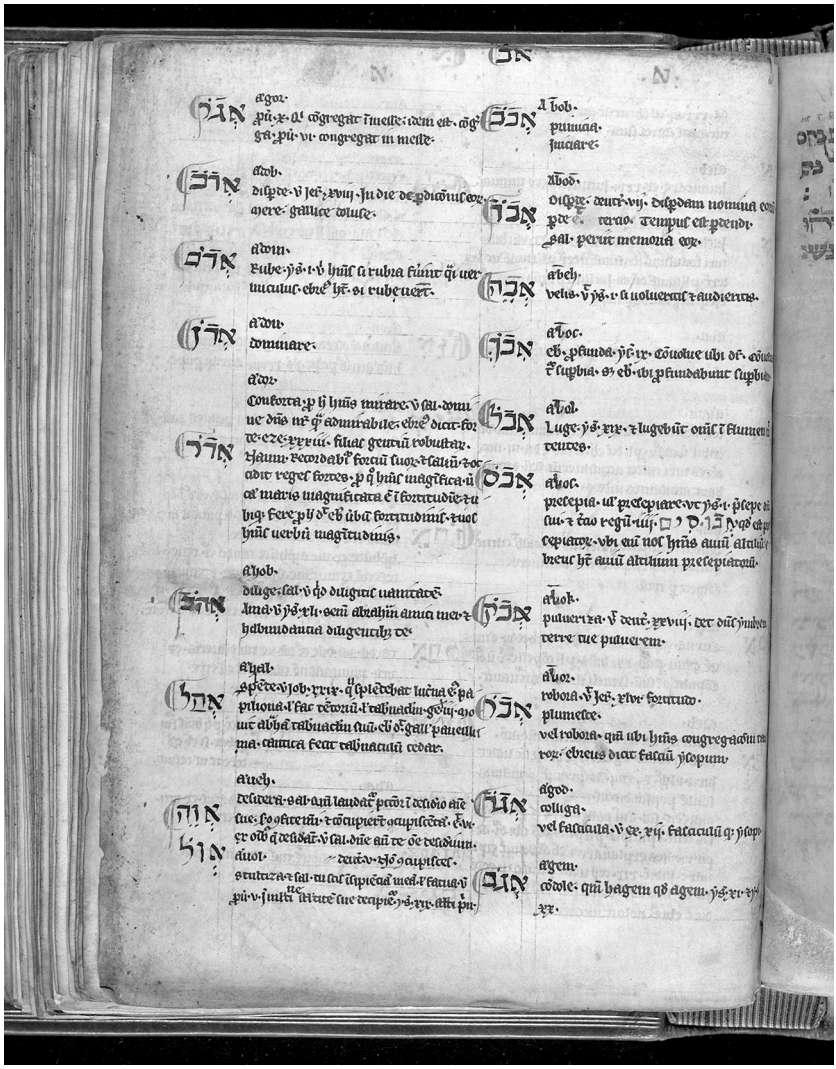

Plate 1: MS Longleat House 21, dictionary, fol. 143v. Published with the kind permission of the Longleat House Library.

singular words to translate. These entries are copied in Hebrew script and are provided with Hebrew vowel-points. Each entry in the Latin column opens by a transliteration of the Hebrew *lemma* in Latin characters. The transliteration is set apart from the remaining part of the Latin entry, slightly above it. Latin entries contain translations of the Hebrew term, biblical and other sources and, in many cases, a French equivalent. Sometimes, Hebrew words, both in Latin transliteration and in Hebrew characters, are embodied into the Latin entry. Until the letter *ṭet*, the Hebrew letter is written at the top of the page as a running title, with a paragraph sign, and also at the top of each column.

The Hebrew entries were written by a neat and elegant hand trained in the Latin tradition, but imitating Ashkenazi square script. The Hebrew words copied inside the Latin text are less calligraphic. The Latin text is copied by two different scribes (the first copied most of the dictionary, and the second copied fols 44v–55v and fol. 73v). The second scribe is also responsible for the corrections in the dictionary. He is probably also the scribe of the Hebrew entries and examples. In addition, there are as well some twenty scattered marginal notes and corrections added by a much later, 16th century hand which can be identified as that of a 16th century Hebraist Robert Wakefield.

On the whole, the dictionary is very neatly copied. There is a perfect matching between Hebrew and Latin entries, with regular spaces between the entries. Since Latin entries are of unequal length, ranging from two to over ten lines, it is evident that the volume must have been well planned in advance, probably copied from a preliminary draft. It seems also that Hebrew and Latin columns were copied simultaneously; there are cases when the bloc of the Latin text of an entry seems to adjust its shape to the protruding paragraph sign of the Hebrew entry in the preceding column. But Hebrew words in the body of Latin entries were added later in spaces left for this purpose, which are sometimes too large for the Hebrew word in question. The very neat and clear page layout as well as the use of devices intended to facilitate the quick access to the sought after words (such as paragraph signs in color, or the relevant Hebrew letters at the top of the pages and columns) show that our dictionary is of high quality and a well planned manuscript.

Contents and Structure

The dictionary contains a total of 3682 independent entries. It is divided in two parts, part I containing verbs (1392 entries) and part II containing the other parts of speech, but mainly nouns (2290 entries). Almost all biblical Hebrew roots are attested with a few omissions, mainly of some *hapax legomena*. There are two lacunae in the text: a passage containing some 30 roots in part I (letter *shin*) and a passage (probably a folio missing in the model) containing the end of part I (verbs, letter *tav*) and the beginning of part II (letter *aleph*).

The dictionary covers the vocabulary of the Hebrew Bible. There are also several entries concerning biblical Aramaic and post-biblical Hebrew words, such as סליק 'come out' (vSamekh 36), פשר 'explain' (vPe 73) or the massoretic terms and names of biblical accents (*teʿamim*) such as פסוק (vPe 47). There are also frequent references to the Aramaic of the Targum Onkelos and Jonathan and to post-biblical Hebrew in the discussions of the meanings of the Hebrew entries.

The division into verbs and other parts of speech (mainly nouns) is well followed on the whole, but there are exceptional cases of nouns or other parts of speech appearing in the section on verbs. In some cases, a noun or another non verbal part of speech attested in the Bible is quoted as such in the text of the dictionary, for instance לא 'no' or לו 'if,' which both appear in the part dedicated to verbs; or פך 'a bottle' which is translated as a noun, 'fiala,'—so the author was perfectly aware of the nominal nature of the word. However, the biblical reference quoted in this entry, Ez. 47, 2, contains 'redundantes' a participle of the *hapax legomenon* מְפַכְּכִים of the verbal root דכפ, which, according to the alphabetical order, should appear just here in the dictionary.

In other cases, the entry was given the form of a verb and looks like a verb, but is not attested as a verb. For example, אְדוֹן 'lord' is vocalized with a *sheva*—like an imperative, and translated into Latin as 'dominare' (without any biblical references). Of course, such a verb is attested neither in the Bible nor in post-biblical Hebrew: evidently, the noun אָדוֹן 'lord' was used to coin the imperative and the verbal meaning (vAleph 14). Similarly, a verb לְהֹב (vLamed 9) does not exist either in biblical or post-biblical Hebrew, but the nouns from the same root are well attested. It seems that the verb was

coined from these biblical nouns, and translated into Latin as a verb 'inflamma.'

The entries in both sections follow the order of the Hebrew alphabet, from *aleph* to *tav*. In principle, the order of all the consonants is taken into consideration, although mistakes do happen. In many cases, the geminative verbs (ע"ע) are placed at the beginning of the corresponding subsection.

The Structure of the Entries

Each entry contains a Hebrew lemma in a separate column, written in Hebrew script and provided with vowels. The system of vocalisation used is the distinctive system attested among Christian scholars in England since the 12th century. It is based on that of the contemporary Hebrew manuscripts,[14] but simplified so that all the sounds /a/ are expressed by a *pataḥ* and all the sounds /e/ by a *ṣere*.[15] The Hebrew nouns are usually presented in the basic singular form (except when some errors of analysis occur). The verbs are vocalised as imperatives of the 2nd person masculine singular, and translated as such into Latin. This choice of imperative is unusual and was probably dictated by the fact that the imperative appears to be the 'purest' form with the minimum of additions or affixes, both in Hebrew and in Latin. The imperatives are vocalized only as qal or, more rarely, pi'el imperatives and this even in cases when the verb in question is attested in a different verbal stem. For example, לַשֵּׁן is vocalized here (vLamed 39) as a pi'el imperative, while it is attested only as a hiph'il form in the Bible.

Only a small percentage of the verbal roots are attested under the form of an imperative in the Bible, and even less in the very form of the 2nd person masculine singular under which they appear in the dictionary. This implies that the authors of the dictionary were

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[14] Especially those with the so-called extended Tiberian or Tibero-Palestinian vocalization often used in 12th and 13th century Ashkenazi manuscripts, cf. Ilan Eldar, *The Hebrew Language Tradition in Medieval Ashkenaz*, 2 vols., Publications of the Hebrew University Language Traditions Project (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1978) [Hebr.].

[15] For the Christian simplified Hebrew vocalisation, cf. Olszowy-Schlanger, "A Christian tradition of Hebrew vocalisation in Medieval England": 126–146.

able to derive the imperatives by analogy from other grammatical forms attested in the Bible. In most cases, the form is correct, although there are some mistakes in vocalization of qal imperatives of the *pataḥ* rather than *ḥolem* group, and there is some confusion between weak verbs.

This derivation of non-attested imperatives implies a fairly good grasp of the rules of Hebrew grammar and shows how the authors were able to isolate the radical consonants in the attested forms and to generate a grammatically correct imperative. This grammatical analysis or parsing of the verbs attested in the Bible is in most cases done correctly, but there are some errors of interpretation when grammatical endings or affixes are taken for the consonants of the root. For example לַשׁ֫ת (vLamed 40) is presented as an imperative of an imaginary verb לשׁת. In reality, it is an active participle of the qal verb לוּשׁ 'to knead dough' in a feminine plural form. In some cases the infix *tav* of the hithpaʿel stem was interpreted as a part of the root: for example שִׁתַּע (vShin 100) is based in reality on וישתער of the root שׁער. On the other hand, in some verbs where the *tav* is a part of the root, it was understood as a hithpaʿel marker or a prefix. For example, the *tav* of ויתפרו of the root תּפר 'to stich' was interpreted as a hithpaʿel marker, and this verb was placed in the section of the letter *pe*, as if it was derived from the root פּרה.

The Hebrew lemmata are followed by their Latin translation. Several meanings are often proposed to reflect the nuances of the Hebrew word. For the verbs, the Latin translation is an imperative, even if this sometimes implies the creation of new Latin verbs (for example, the imperative *bestializa* 'to behave like an animal,' which renders בער, in vBeth 41). The Latin meanings are followed by discussions whose aim is the comparison of a Hebrew word with its renderings by the Latin Vulgate. The Latin translation of the Hebrew lemma is thus illustrated by one or more biblical quotations, cited according to the Parisian version of the Vulgate, with references to the numbered chapters of the biblical books.[16] All in all, the dictionary contains many thousands quotations from all twenty-four books of the Hebrew canon. There is only one quotation from the New Testament (Luc 16, 9 in nḤeth 33).

[16] Cf. Amaury d'Esneval, "La Division de la Vulgate latine en chapitres dans l'édition parisienne du XIII^{e} siècle," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 62 (1978): 559–568.

The meaning given by the official translation of the Vulgate is then scrutinized in the rest of the entry. This Vulgate meaning is most often introduced by the expression *nos habemus* 'we have . . .,' and usually confronted with the meaning introduced by the expression *sed ebreus dicit* 'but the Hebrew says. . . .' In the great majority of cases, the alternative reading of the *ebreus* is accepted as the correct one by the dictionary (sometimes it is qualified as such by an explicit mention *sed ebreus dicit . . . et bene* 'but the Hebrew says . . ., and it is correct', for example (vAleph 22):

> אזנה[17] Æzena
> Repelle, pro hoc habemus 'deficere,' ut Ys. XIX: *Deficient flumina*, et ebreus dicit 'repellantur flumina.'

This example shows that the translation proposed by *ebreus*, 'repelle,' is given as the first obvious meaning of the word, while the version of the Vulgate, together with the reference to Is 19, 6, is quoted as a mere comparison.

It is not entirely clear to whom or to what *ebreus* refers. In fact, it appears that the term *ebreus* can have different meanings in different entries: it can mean a person as well as a text. In a few cases, it might seem indeed that *ebreus* is a Jewish scholar acting as a teacher or informer for the authors of the dictionary. This can be argued from expressions such as *ebreus dicit gallice* 'the Hebrew said in French' or *nescit ebreus* 'the Hebrew does not know' (e.g. nḤeth 62) and (in a rare case where the Vulgate is considered as a better translation than that of the *ebreus*) *ebreus mentitur* 'the Hebrew is lying' (nSamekh 69: סבא Sefe Pabulum, Iud. XIX: *Pabulum asinis nostris prebuit*, ebreus dicit 'auena,' set credo quod mentitur cum auena non crescit in terra illa, "Provender, Judges XIX (19, 21): *Gave provender unto the asses*, 'The Hebrew says 'oats', but I think he is lying because oats do not grow in that country'").[18] However, in most cases *ebreus* refers to a

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[17] אזנה written by mistake with a *he* instead of ḥeth: אזנה. This entry deals with the irregular form האזניחו in Is 19, 6 which is considered as derived from the root זנח, 'to reject,' 'to stink,' with an prosthetic *aleph*.

[18] In this particular case, the translation proposed by *ebreus* is rejected on 'scientific' or empirical grounds. The translation of the Vulgate is for once considered as correct, but it must be stressed that in the following part of the entry this translation in further supported by another Jewish source, the dictionary of Ibn Parḥon: "Pro quo habemus 'fenum', ut Ge. XXIIII, ut ubi dicitur: *Palearum quoque et feni*, set Piraam appellat 'pabulum' ex quocunque grano סבא siue ordeum siue auena siue spelta."

text or a written work which often corresponds to the interpretations given by Rashi in his commentaries. Still in other instances, *ebreus* refers to the Latin *superscriptio*, which is the original Latin translation written between the lines of the Hebrew text, attested in several manuscripts known to us. Some of the manuscripts still in existence have been identified as the actual sources used to compile the dictionary.

The discussions concerning the meaning of the Hebrew words also contain frequent explicit references to Jewish sources (to be discussed below), as well as vernacular translations. The dictionary contains over 1,000 words in Old French, usually introduced by the expression *gallice* 'in French.' These were identified as written with Anglo-Norman spelling and some of them are typical of the Anglo-Norman dialect.[19] These French words very often appear in the interpretations of *ebreus*, but they almost never correspond to the French *le'azim* quoted by Rashi in his Bible commentaries. In addition, three words in Middle English were mentioned in the dictionary, all three introduced by the word *anglice.*

The Jewish Sources of the Dictionary

The dictionary of Longleat House is a highly original and unique work in the Medieval Christian world. It is neither a Latin translation nor a close reworking of any known Jewish dictionary. However, the Christian authors had at their disposal an impressive array of Jewish texts of which they made extensive use. Some of the references are explicitly given, while others need to be identified from the interpretations provided.

Among the non-grammatical sources, the dictionary contains a wealth of references to the Aramaic targumim of Onkelos and Jonathan, the Talmud and most frequently to Rashi's biblical commentaries. Explicit references to the Talmud are very general: often the meaning of a Hebrew root as attested in post-biblical literature is simply qualified by *in Talamut* 'in the Talmud' (there are only 16 mentions of the *Talamut*), and might have found their way to the

[19] The study of the Old French glosses is by Prof. Geneviève Hasenohr from the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, and will be published in the forthcoming edition of the dictionary.

dictionary through Rashi's commentaries rather than directly from the study of a manuscript of the Talmud. This is not the case with Rashi's own commentaries which are by far the most frequently used Jewish source. In only one case Rashi is referred to by name, in the expression *secundum Salomonem* 'according to Solomon' (v'Ayin 101), and in 25 instances it is called *glosa ebreorum* 'the commentary of the Jews.' However, there are dozens of cases where Rashi's commentaries are included in the discussion without any title or introduction. These commentaries can consist of a single word, or of an entire passage translated (or summarised) into Latin from the original Hebrew, for instance in nAleph 166:

> אישה Aiseh
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> Femina uel Talpa, ut Ps. Si uere utique: *Supercecidit ignis*, dicit ebreus 'abortiuus talpe,' quoniam *nefel* est 'abortiuus,' ut infra, et *eset*, quoniam ad sequens coniungitur apponitur ei tau, est 'talpa' et non 'ignis,' set *eos* אש est 'ignis.'
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> 'Woman or Mole, as for Ps. Si uere utique (Ps 58, 2, Vulg. Ps 57, 2): *The fire fell*, but the Hebrew says 'the aborted foetus of a mole', because *nefel* is 'aborted foetus,' as below, and *eset*—since it is related to what follows it is given a *tav*—is 'mole' and not 'fire,' but *eos* אש is 'fire.'

The Vulgate *ignis* 'fire' for נפל אשת in Ps 57, 9 (Hebrew Ps 58, 9) is rejected by the dictionary in favour of the interpretation of Rashi *ad loc*. (reported by *ebreus*), which itself is difficult. First Rashi rejects the possibility of interpretation of אשת as a form derived from אש 'fire' because of the presence of the final *tav*. He then proposes the Old French translation *talpe* 'mole,' on the basis of the Aramaic אשות.[20] He then quotes an interpretation referring to אשה 'woman,' but is dissatisfied with the incorrect use of the *status constructus* form. He finally proposes a compromise solution: 'the woman's abortive foetuses do not see the day [like the moles].'

As we can see, the accuracy and specificity of the translation here and in a number of other places show that the authors worked directly from the text of Rashi's commentaries. This is confirmed by the fortunate identification of the very manuscript of Rashi on Prophets and Hagiographa which was used in the compilation of our dictionary. The Hebrew MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College (CCC) 6

[20] Cf. Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Talmud* (New York: Traditional Press, 1903), s.v. אֲשׁוּת 'mole.'

contains indeed marginal glosses whose handwriting, vocabulary, contents and structure are similar to those of the other manuscripts identified as the immediate sources of the dictionary (see below).[21]

Besides these major Jewish sources, the dictionary contains references to other works, some quite unexpected. There are six entries from what the dictionary calls the *Liber dierum Moses*, which corresponds to the late midrash or folk-tale *Sefer Divrei ha-Yamim shel Moshe Rabbenu* (nBeth 32: יבחושים, nZayin 20: זבוב, nZayin 38: זיקם[22], nYod 72: יחוש, nMem 155: מעזיבה, nPe 93: פשפש). As is often the case with folk-tales and legends, several different versions of *Divrei ha-Yamim shel Moshe Rabbenu* circulated in the Middle Ages. All of the words from this midrash quoted in the dictionary are attested in the same passage on Egyptian plagues, in some manuscripts, notably in the version published by Shinan.[23] There are two references to the *Tales of Sendebar* (vYod 15: יַחַשׁ and vResh 74: רֶקַח), which are, however, not attested in the critical edition of Epstein,[24] and one reference to the *Alpha Betha de-Ben Sira* (as Bensara, nYod 17: טַרְסְקַל).[25] This latter work was well known among Medieval Christians and has been quoted notably (as well as criticised) by the abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable (1094–1156) in his *Tractatus adversus Iudaeorum inveteratam duritiem*.[26] It has been a matter of discussion how exactly

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[21] Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, "Rachi en latin: les gloses latines dans un manuscrit du commentaire de Rachi et les études hébraïques parmi des chrétiens dans l'Angleterre médiévale," in *Héritages de Rachi*, ed. René-Samuel Sirat (Paris-Tel-Aviv: Éditions de l'éclat, 2006), 137–150.

[22] The entry זיקם is in fact a mistake for the infinitive להזיקם 'to harm them,' which was wrongly analysed by the author of the dictionary as a noun preceded by the preposition *lamed* and the definite article.

[23] Avigdor Shinan, "Divrei ha-Yamim shel Moshe Rabbenu. Contribution to the question of date, sources and nature of a Hebrew tale from the Middle Ages," *Hasifrut* 24 (1971): 114 [Hebr.].

[24] Morris Epstein, *Tales of Sendebar* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967).

[25] טרסקל 'basket,' appears in the edition of Eli Yassif, *The Tales of Ben Sira in the Middle Ages. A Critical Text and Literary Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984), 216 [Hebr.]. Yassif (p. 216, note 3) considers that it is a corrupted form of קרסטל (attested indeed in some manuscripts), which would correspond to Latin *crystallum* 'crystal cup' rather than 'basket.' But קרסטל (a variant form of טרסקל) with the sense of 'basket' is well attested in talmudic literature, and fits the context of the tale.

[26] Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina* (Patrologiae cursus completus [. . .] Series Latina) (Paris: Garnier, 1884), 189, cols 645–648; Y. Friedman, ed., *Petri Venerabilis Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem*, in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis* 58 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985). Cf. Chen Merchavia, *The Church versus Talmudic and Midrashic Literature 500–1248* (Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik, 1970), 128–151 [Hebr.].

Peter the Venerable became acquainted with the contents of this work, since he did not master the Hebrew language. In this respect, we now have more direct evidence that medieval Christian scholars actually translated this work into Latin: a small fragment of a Hebrew *Alpha Betha de-Ben Sira* with an interlinear Latin translation from the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century was discovered in 1993 by Dr A. Piper in a 16th century binding in the Durham University Library (Portfolio II/4).[27] There are two more references (both to the same word, לוג, written once plene (nLamed 29) and once defective (nLamed 15)) to the mysterious *Gamaliel*—an as yet unidentified work mentioned in other Christian sources.[28] Raphael Loewe has suggested that this term was used by Christians to refer generally to the Talmud and Talmudic literature,[29] and this view is today generally accepted.[30] However, he notices as well that the references to *Gamaliel* in Christian sources concern exclusively passages of aggadic (legendary and moralising) rather than halakhic (legal) nature, and correspond not only to the aggadot in the Talmud, but also to some midrashim. We also find mention of a *Sefer Gamaliel* 'a Book of Gamaliel' together with its detailed price in a legal contract from medieval England. It could therefore be suggested that *Sefer Gamaliel* was indeed an independent work, a kind of anthology or digest of aggadic passages in the Talmud and midrashim.

Besides these rabbinic and midrashic works, the dictionary made extensive use of native Hebrew lexicographical tradition. There is one explicit reference to *Maḥberet* of Menahem ben Saruq (vBeth 47), but it seems that the authors of the dictionary quoted it after Rashi rather than from an independent manuscript. The main Jewish lexicographical source of the dictionary was the *Maḥberet ha-ʿArukh* by the Spaniard Solomon ben Abraham ibn Parḥon, the complete alphabetic dictionary of biblical Hebrew written in 1161 in Salerno, on

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[27] Cf. Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux*, 295–298.

[28] The title *Gamaliel* is notably mentioned by the 12th century English authors Ralph Niger and Alexander Neckam (cf. Raphael Loewe, "Alexander Neckam's knowledge of Hebrew," in *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda*, ed. William Horbury (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 214, bibliography in note 40) as well as by Herbert of Bosham (cf. Deborah L. Goodwin, *"Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew": Herbert of Bosham's Christian Hebraism* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006), 139).

[29] Loewe, "Alexander Neckam's knowledge of Hebrew", 214.

[30] Cf. Frans Van Liere, "Twelfth-century Christian scholars and the attribution of the Talmud," *Medieval Perspectives* 17/2 (2002): 93–104; Goodwin, "Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew", 146.

the basis of the achievements of the previous generation of Spanish grammarians, Judah Ḥayyuj and Jonah ibn Janaḥ.[31] The name of Ibn Parḥon (under the somewhat corrupted form 'Piraam' or 'Piraham') appears only seven times in the dictionary, but the influence of the *Maḥberet ha-ʿArukh* is evident in the structure of the dictionary (the geminate verbs are often placed at the beginning of the sub-sections, and the four- and more lettered roots are placed at the end of the alphabetical sections rather than at their expected alphabetical place), in the general grammatical approach it represents as well as in a wealth of particular interpretations which correspond to Ibn Parḥon's. It is evident that the authors of the dictionary had at their disposal and studied very closely an actual manuscript of Ibn Parḥon's dictionary. However, they did not rely on it slavishly: unlike *Maḥberet ha-ʿArukh*, our dictionary is divided in two parts (verbs and other parts of speech),[32] it contains many interpretations different from Ibn Parḥon's and follows other Jewish authors, namely Rashi, and finally the verbs are presented as imperatives, while Ibn Parḥon's dictionary is organised according to abstract roots.[33] Our dictionary does not rely on Ibn Parḥon for the choice of biblical quotations either.

It is not surprising that it was precisely the *Maḥberet ha-ʿArukh* of Ibn Parḥon which was used as the main lexicographical source by the Christian authors of our dictionary. Not only was it the main text of the Spanish school of lexicography studied by northern European Jews,[34] but there is evidence, independently of our dictio-

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[31] *Mahberet ha-Arukh, Salomonis ben Abrahami Parchon Aragonensis Lexicon Hebraicum*, ed. Salomo Gottlieb Stern (Pressburg: Schmid, 1844). Cf. Wilhelm Bacher, "Salomon ibn Parhon's hebräisches Wörterbuch: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hebräischen Sprachwissenschaft und der Bibelexegese," *ZAW* 10 (1890): 20–156 and *ZAW* 11 (1894): 35–99.

[32] The division into two parts recalls that of the *Sepher ha-Shoham* (The Onyx Book), written in London, around 1260 by Moshe ben Isaac ha-Nesiyya (a part of the section on verbs has been edited George W. Collins, *A Grammar and Lexicon of the Hebrew Language entitled Sefer hassoham by Rabbi Môseh ben Yitsḥak of England* (London: Trubnir, 1882) and again by Benjamin Klar, *The Sepher ha-Shoham (The Onyx Book) by Moses ben Isaac Hanessiah*, I (Jerusalem: Meqitse Nirdamim/Mosad ha-Rav Kuk, 1947). But the similarity stops here: the part devoted to verbs of the *Sepher ha-Shoham* is subdivided into sections according to the conjugation patterns (*binyanim*) and groups of regular and irregular verbs, and the section on nouns is subdivided according to the nominal paradigms (*mishqalim*), while our dictionary simply follows the alphabetical arrangement inside each one of the two sections.

[33] The choice of imperatives as Hebrew lemmata is not attested in any Hebrew (or Latin) lexicographical work.

[34] The *Maḥberet ha-ʿArukh* was indeed quoted in Hebrew linguistic works composed in Northern France, England, and Germany from the end of the 12th to the

nary, that it was also known and studied by Christian Hebraists in England. An early 13th century (French or English) copy of the *Maḥberet ha-ʿArukh* in an anthology of literary and grammatical texts in MS Oxford, Bodl. Or. 135 (Cat. nº 1466) contains marginalia in Latin, in a cursive 13th century English hand.[35] The mark of ownership on fol. 1r and fol. 363v confirm that this manuscript was still of interest to Christian scholars in early 14th century when it belonged to John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter (1328–1369).[36]

In line with the identification of Ibn Parḥon as the Jewish lexicographical source behind our dictionary, the grammatical rules underlying the analysis of the words follow those of the classical Spanish tradition. Hebrew verbs are grammatically derived from abstract roots, and these roots are composed of three consonants. Although the dictionary does not contain a great number of specifically grammatical discussions with appropriate technical meta-language, the term *radix* with its meaning of the Hebrew root is attested, and the analysis of verbs implied by the form of the lemmata leaves no doubt on the adherence of the authors to the tri-literal theory of the root. The reliance on Jewish grammatical tradition is further stressed by the use of Hebrew interpretative techniques, such as deriving the meaning of a word through the permutation of the consonants of the root. For example, the verb חשל attested only once in the Bible (Dt 25, 18) is understood as 'to be weak,' because it is identified with חלש, 'to be weak' with a postulated permutation of *shin* and *lamed* (vḤeth 100). Such an interpretation of this particular verb חשל

13th century, such as *'Ein ha-Qore* by Yequtiel ben Judah ha-Kohen (probably Northern France, end of the 12th century), cf. Ilan Eldar, "The chapter 'noaḥ hatevot' from *'Ein ha-Qore*: rules of milra' and mil'el by Yequtiel ha-Kohen ben Judah, the Vocaliser," *Leshonenu* 40 (1976): 192 [Hebr.]; idem, "The grammatical literature of Medieval Ashkenazi Jewry," *Massorot* 5–6 (1991): 12–13 [Hebr.]; *Ha-Shimshoni* (or *Ḥibbur ha-Qonim*) by Shimshon ha-Naqdan (Germany, 13th century), cf. Ilan Eldar, "From the writings of the Ashkenazi grammatical school: Ha-Shimshoni: introduction and the chapter on the vowels," *Leshonenu* 43 (1978–1979): 100–111, 201–210 [Hebr.]; the *Glossary of Leipzig*—a Hebrew-Old French glossary of the Bible with commentaries written probably in Normandy, by the end of the 13th century, Menahem Banitt, *Le Glossaire de Leipzig. Introduction*, ed., vol. 2 of *Corpus Glossariorum Biblicorum Hebraico-Gallicorum Medii Aevi* (Jerusalem: Acad. Nationale des Sciences et des Lettres d'Israël, 2005); and finally in the *Sefer ha-Shoham* written by Moses ben Isaac ha-Nessiya in London, around 1260, cf. above, note 32.

[35] Cf. Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux*, 52.

[36] Cf. Falconer Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 2, part 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922): 585, nº 3086.

is found in Jewish grammatical sources, including Solomon ibn Parḥon.[37]

The Latin Sources of the Dictionary

While studying aspects of the dictionary one is struck by a conspicuous quasi-absence of references to the Latin sources, be it polemical, exegetical or lexicographical. The New Testament is quoted only once and less than ten entries refer to Christian theology or are mildly polemical. For example, in n'Ayin 14, a Jewish synagogue is compared to 'a swarm of stinging bees' ("semper enim fuit eorum sinagoga ut examen apium stimulantium") or in nKaph 71, a detailed description of the tonsure mentioned in Ez 44, 20 is commented by the author who claims that the prophecy concerning this tonsure is best accomplished 'in us, the clerics, whether the envious scoffers like it or not' ("et nos clericos communiter uocant tonsos; restat igitur quod illa prophetia Ezechielis adimpleatur in nobis, uelint nolint inuidi derisores"). That apart, the overt anti-Jewish polemical undertones are almost absent, and perhaps even consciously avoided. To quote a famous example, in the 12th century, Andrew of St. Victor interpreted the Hebrew עַלְמָה in Is 7, 14 as 'young girl,' according to the basic Hebrew meaning, and contrary to the Christian messianic interpretation suggested by the Vulgate's *virgo* 'virgin.' This daring interpretation earned Andrew an accusation of "judaizing" from his colleague Richard of St. Victor.[38] The authors of our dictionary simply avoided the reference to the problematic Is 7, 14, and quoted instead the unproblematic Ct 1, 2 (Vulg. *adulescentulae*, 'young girls') to elucidate the meaning of עַלְמָה, which they moreover listed under עלם 'young boy.' Thus, the meaning of the Hebrew word is established as 'young girl' and the question of its interpretation in Is 7, 14 is left out of the philological scope of the dictionary.

At the same time, the precise meaning of Hebrew words can give rise to the most virulent discussions and arguments against *ebreus*. For example, in vZayin 41, the author gets into a vehement discussion

[37] Ed. Solomon G. Stern, *Salomonis ben Abraham Parchon Lexicon Hebraicum*, fol. 23v.
[38] Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *De Emmanuele* Patrologia Latina (Patrologiae cursus completus [. . .] Series Latina) (Paris: Garnier, 1844–1864), 196, cols 607c and 609b.

concerning the meaning of זרח: he maintains that it means *orire* 'to rise [of the Sun]' against *ebreus* who proposes *splendere* 'to shine,' arguing that *mizera* מזרח means the East, and *zerah* (זרח) is to rise, whether the Hebrew likes it or not" ("ipse dicit 'splendebit,' credo quod male, quoniam scio quod mizera uelit nolit ebreus est 'oriens' [. . .], et ideo zerah est 'orire'"). It is the philological veracity rather than any ideological issue which is debated in the dictionary.

It is also remarkable to note how little use was made of the commentaries of Jerome, and of the various glossaries and lists of Hebrew-like words in Latin characters, belonging to the genre of Hebrew etymologies, widespread among Christians in the Middle Ages.[39] The founding text of this genre is the *Liber interpretationum hebraicorum nominum* compiled by Jerome around 390 A.D.[40] This work served as the basis for various compilations throughout the early and Carolingian Middle Ages.[41] It was still the main source for the much improved 12th and 13th century versions such as the *Philippicus* of Ralph Niger (compiled in England with the help of a Jewish convert),[42] and for the version called *aaz apprehendens* after its first entry, compiled probably by Stephan Langton, and most widespread in 13th century manuscripts.[43] The main purpose of the *Liber interpretationum* was not philological, but rather exegetical, and was to serve as reference for the Hebrew etymology of proper names found in the Latin Bible, to be used in Bible interpretation and preaching.[44] Exegesis was probably also the main purpose of the *Brito metricus* by Guillaume le Breton, a rhymed lexicon of Greek and Hebrew words (Hebrew in

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[39] These compendia have been often studied, more recently by Gilbert Dahan, "Lexiques hébreu-latin? Les recueils d'interprétations des noms hébraïques."

[40] Paul de Lagarde, ed., *Onomastica Sacra* (Göttingen: Rente, 1870) reprinted in *Corpus Christianorum* 72 (S. Hieronimi Opera I/1), (Turnhout: Brepols, 1959): 57–161.

[41] See Matthias Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters*, 2nd ed. (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1973); Olivier Szerwiniack, "Des recueils d'interprétations de noms hébreux chez des irlandais et le wisigoth Théodulf," *Scriptorium* 48 (1994): 187–258.

[42] See Loewe, "Mediaeval Christian Hebraists in England": 247; Avrom Saltman, "Supplementary notes on the works of Ralph Niger," *Bar-Ilan Studies in History* 1 (1978): 103–113.

[43] See Amaury d'Esneval, "Le perfectionnement d'un instrument de travail au début du XIII^{e} siècle: les trois glossaires bibliques d'Etienne Langton," in *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'Occident médiéval*, eds. Geneviève Hasenohr and Jean Longère (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981), 163–175.

[44] See Dahan, "Lexiques": 506–509.

verses 7–128) based entirely on Jerome's *Liber interpretationum* and other patristic sources.[45]

Our dictionary belongs to an altogether different genre. It contains only ten entries with an etymology that could have been derived from patristic sources, and notably from *Interpretationes*; for example Nabal (vNun 11) follows *Liber interpretationum* 'Nabal insipiens' (I Kings)[46] or Gomer (nGimel 69) corresponds to *Liber interpretationum* 'Gomer adsumptio siue consummatio' (Genesis)[47] or 'Gomer consummata siue perfecta' (Osea).[48] It is therefore evident that while the authors of the dictionary knew these patristic texts, they made very little use of them.

Also conspicuous is the absence of references to those medieval Christian authors who are known to have had some knowledge of Hebrew and who used Hebrew in their commentaries. There are no references to those 12th century English scholars who achieved a certain proficiency in Hebrew, such as Herbert of Bosham (c. 1120–c. 1194), the scholars of of St. Victor in Paris[49] or Alexander Neckam (1157–1217), the Oxford theologian and Abbot of the Augustinian Abbey of Cirencester.[50] There is indeed a striking lack of correspondence between the specific interpretations offered in the works of medieval commentators and those of our dictionary, even in the case of difficult and characteristic Hebrew terms. For example, both our dictionary and Alexander Neckam seek to explain the *hapax* אפדנו in Daniel 11, 45 (a Persian loan-word understood today as 'palace'), since both consider that the Vulgate's rendering as the name of a place *Apadno* is incorrect. Neckam translated it into Latin as *solarium* 'solar' or *manianum* 'balcony,' and glossed it in French as *apenteiz*[51]

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[45] Lloyd W. Daly, ed., *Brito Metricus: a Mediaeval Verse Treatise on Greek and Hebrew Words* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968).

[46] Lagarde, ed., *Corpus Christianorum* 72, 104.

[47] Lagarde, ed., *Corpus Christianorum* 72, 66.

[48] Lagarde, ed., *Corpus Christianorum* 72, 122.

[49] Cf. Raphael Loewe, "The Medieval Christian Hebraists of England: Herbert of Bosham and earlier scholars," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 17 (1953): 225–249; idem, "Herbert of Bosham's Commentary on Jerome's Hebrew Psalter," *Biblica* 34 (1953): 44–77, 159–192, 275–298; Goodwin, "*Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew*": Herbert of Bosham's Christian Hebraism.

[50] On Alexander Neckam as a Hebraist, cf. Raphael Loewe, "Alexander Neckam's knowledge of Hebrew," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958): 17–34; idem, "Alexander Neckam's knowledge of Hebrew," 207–223.

[51] This French term, used by Rashi to gloss a different Hebrew biblical word (cf. Arsène Darmesteter, *Les gloses françaises de Rachi dans la Bible* (Paris: Durlacher,

'balcony,' 'archway.'[52] Neckam's translation is close to the meaning of the word in Rashi's commentary on TB Shabbat 77b where אפדנא is interpreted as *טרקלין* in the sense of 'dining room,' or else to TB Eruvin 25b, where it is used in the sense of a 'room opening on an orchard'.[53] In contrast, in our dictionary, אפדנו is placed under *פדן* (nPe 8) just like in the *Maḥberet ha-ʿArukh* of Ibn Parḥon.[54] The translation proposed by the dictionary is *copulum* and *iug*', 'yoke,' which corresponds to the Aramaic פדנא 'ploughshare,' 'yoke,' attested for instance in the Targum of I Sam 13, 20. Interestingly, despite the derivation of אפדנו from *פדן* which follows Ibn Parḥon, the meaning 'yoke' in the dictionary is actually independent from this lexicographical source. Ibn Parḥon explains אפדנו as *חצר עשויה מן הקלעים והעמודים* 'a courtyard made of curtains and columns' and adds that the area of a court-yard is called *תורביצא דאפדני* 'the garden of the house' (a 'walled garden' or a 'kitchen-garden,' that is a garden placed directly next to the house).[55] Ibn Parḥon's interpretation is therefore close to that of Rashi, while our dictionary follows neither of them.

The Hebrew-Latin Books Used to Create the Dictionary

Our dictionary thus made very little use of Latin sources, referring instead directly to Hebrew ones. Moreover, it didn't follow them in a slavish way, but used them rather as a source of inspiration for original interpretations and approaches. This disregard of the previous generations of Christians Hebraists, the independent and critical use of Jewish sources and a decidedly 'philological' focus seems to set our dictionary apart from the intellectual works by Christian Hebraists of the Middle Ages.

However, it appears that the dictionary itself was not a totally isolated work, but rather one (probably the finest) of the achievements

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1909), 37, 54, 95), appears also in our dictionary under the form *apentiz*, but as a translation of חא, with the Latin *talamus*, 'small room' (nTav 1).

[52] Cf. Paul Meyer, "Notice sur les Corrogationes Promethei d'Alexandre Neckam," *Notices et Extraits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 35/2 (1897): 679; Raphael Loewe, "Alexander Neckam's knowledge of Hebrew," 208.

[53] Rashi did not comment on this word in his Bible commentary on Dn 11, 45.

[54] Ed. Stern, fol. 52v.

[55] Ibn Parḥon *ad loc*. does not give any reference to rabbinic literature, and the exact expression is not attested in the available editions of the sources.

of a specific group of Christian Hebraists in England. In the course of the research, I have been able to identify some manuscripts still in existence which were used for the compilation of the dictionary. Some doubts still remain about the exact origin of these manuscripts, but their link to the Benedictine Abbey of Ramsey and their role in the composition of the dictionary is uncontestable.[56]

As previously discussed, the dictionary itself is bound together with five other works, including a copy of a Hebrew psalter. While the dictionary itself and the four remaining texts are the works of Christian scribes from the same scriptorium, the psalter is a secondary (though still medieval) addition to the volume.[57] It is composed of two units whose Hebrew consonantal text was written by two different hands. These two parts of the consonantal text of the psalms were copied by hands trained in Jewish scribal tradition, during the early 13th century. They were joined together when they arrived at their Christian owners house: indeed, a less trained Christian hand wrote a Hebrew catchword to unite the two parts. It is also a Christian scholar who introduced the Hebrew vowels, which, like in the dictionary, follow the above-mentioned simplified tradition. Possibly the same Christian hand wrote a Latin translation between the lines of the Hebrew text (*superscriptio*)[58] and a wealth of marginalia containing grammatical and semantic discussions and references to other biblical occurrences of the given word or root (see Plate 2).

The study of the Latin glosses of the psalter has revealed a very close relationship with the entries of the dictionary. In some cases

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[56] See the forthcoming edition of the dictionary.

[57] For the description of the psalter in MS LH 21, cf. Loewe, "The Medieval Christian Hebraists of England: the Superscriptio Lincolniensis": 221; Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux*, 188–192.

[58] Since the seminal work of Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, esp. p. 343 and (idem) "Hebrew scholarship among Christians," it is generally thought that the author of the *superscriptio* was Robert Grosseteste (or rather his collaborators, more proficient in Hebrew). Smalley based this identification on the comparison of some passages of the *superscriptio* in MSS Oxford, CCC 10 and CCC 11 as well as Cambridge, Trinity Col. R.8.6 with passages from the personal trilingual psalter of Robert Groseteste preserved as quotations in the *Expositio super Psalmos* by the Franciscan Henry Cossey (written in 1336). However, it must be stressed that there are differences between *superscriptio* for the same text (there are at least 7 different psalters with a *superscriptio*). This argues against the common origin or model, and Grosseteste's (or rather his team's) authorship may not be valid for all of them. For more doubts about Grosseteste's team's authorship, cf. Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux*, 55.

it seemed evident that an entry of the dictionary was copied from the marginal gloss. The chronological primacy of the gloss over the entries of the dictionary has been clearly established first on the grounds of the palaeographical analysis of the Latin script carried out by Patricia Stirnemann who dated the gloss to the 1240s–1250s, that is at least some twenty years earlier than the dictionary. Second, the glosses contain in principle a correct text, with correct biblical references, showing a good grasp of Hebrew grammar, while the corresponding discussions in the dictionary seem in several instances to be an imperfect and corrupted copy of the original gloss. For example, an incomplete and corrupted entry vBeth 40 is difficult to understand without the fuller original gloss in the Psalter:

Dictionary, vBeth 40	**Psalter LH 21, fol. 180r, gloss to line 16**
בְּעֵה	Gloss to Ps 18, 3 (Hebrew Ps 19, 3): יַבִּיעַ with reference to Ecl 10, 1
Ecclesiaste IX: *Musce morientes perdunt suauitatem unguenti*, ebreus dicit 'musca moriens strepificat oleum pingmenti', gallice 'fet bruire' uel 'fet burbiter', hoc est 'strepificat' uel 'crepitat'.	Ut in Ecclesiaste X, ubi habemus: *Musce morientes perdunt suauitatem unguenti*, ebreus habet hoc uerbum iabeiahe, quod est 'loqui', dicit enim 'musca mortua ferebit et faciet loqui oleum pigmenti', oleum enim quandocumque sibi quicquam commiscetur crepitat super ignem.
"Ecl. 9 (should be 10): *The dying flies cause the ointment (perfume) to loose its savour*, the Hebrew says 'a dying fly causes the oil of the ointment to make noise,' in French 'fet bruire' or 'fet burbiter,' that is 'causes to make noise' or 'crepitate'.	"Like in Ecl. 10, where we have: *The dying flies cause the ointment (perfume) to loose its savour*, the Hebrew has the verb iabeiahe that means 'to speak'; he therefore says: 'a dead fly will make a noise and make speak the oil of the ointment (perfume), because when something is mixed with the oil, it makes it crepitate on the fire.'

Although there are some differences in the wording between both passages (and notably the absence of the Old French translation in the gloss of the psalter), it is evident that the gloss gives a more complete explanation, while the entry of the dictionary was not copied in full and, despite an effort to re-arrange the matters, it missed the main point: the connection with the meaning 'to speak' of the root נבע, which is so well explained in the gloss.

It seems that it was already at the stage of the glosses in the psalter that the Jewish sources were consulted: we find in the psalter the references to Rashi, to the Aramaic Targum and to Ibn Parḥon, under its form Piraam, familiar from the dictionary. The detailed analysis of all the glosses and their systematic comparison with the dictionary is still at a preliminary stage, but it can be safely stated that the marginal notes were one of the sources used some twenty years later to compile our dictionary.

The bulk of the glosses in the psalter of MS LH 21 are written in a very characteristic cursive Latin script, the same that wrote the interlinear *superscriptio*.[59] A detailed palaeographical analysis of all known Hebrew manuscripts with Latin annotations from medieval England made it possible to identify the same Latin hand in further five manuscripts:

1. MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 9 (CCC 9) (Catalogue Neubauer/Beit-Arié n° 2435), which contains two independent codicological units bound together: the incomplete book of Samuel (fols 1r–56v, beginning on 56v), written like a Latin codex from left to right, which contains Hebrew and Latin text in parallel columns as well as the Latin *superscriptio* between the lines (there are no developed marginal glosses); the Book of Chronicles (fols 57r–226r), which contains the Hebrew text (without parallel columns in Latin) with *superscriptio* and detailed marginal glosses. The Hebrew texts were written by the same scribe in both units. The Latin hand is also identical throughout the volume.[60]

[59] There are occasional later (though still 13th century) additions and corrections by two different hands.

[60] Cf. Loewe, "Latin superscriptio MSS on portions of the Hebrew Bible other than the Psalter": 66–67; Beit-Arié, "The Valmadonna Pentateuch and the problem of pre-expulsion Anglo-Hebrew manuscripts": 134; Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux*, 212–219.

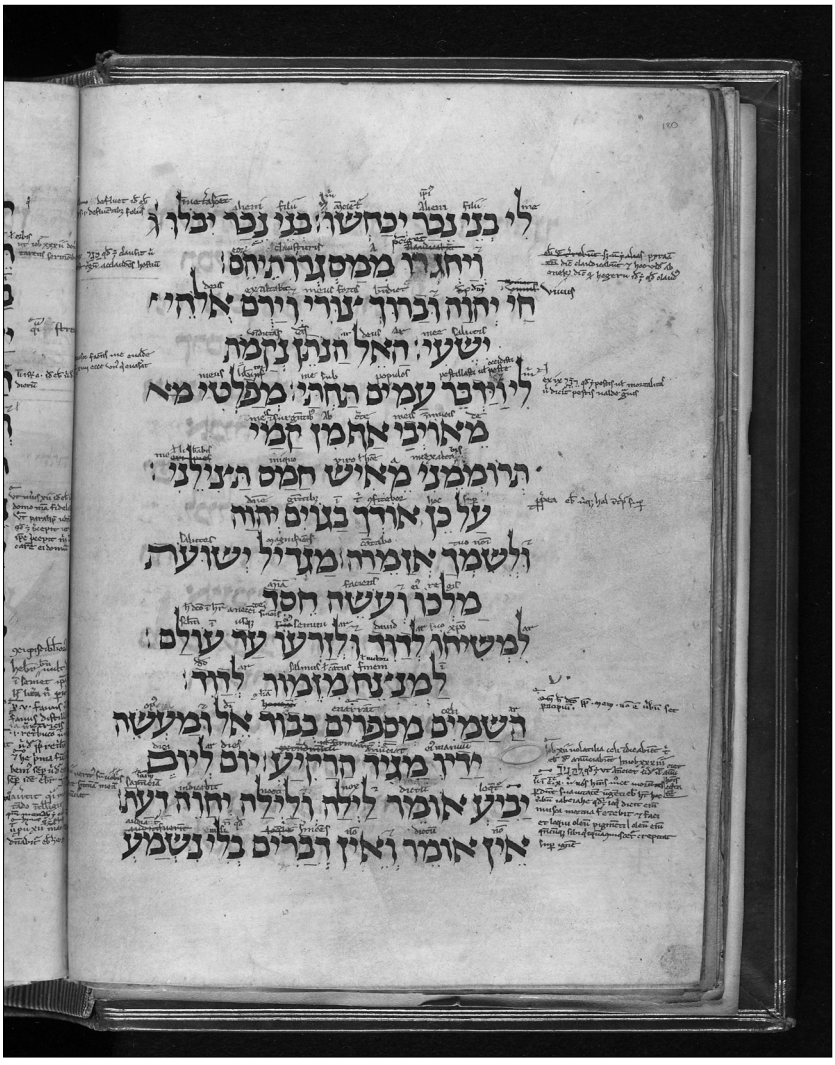

Plate 2: MS Longleat House 21, Psalter with superscriptio, fol. 180r. Published with the kind permission of the Longleat House Library.

2. MS Oxford, St. John's College 143 was copied by the same Hebrew scribe as the previous MS CCC 9, from right to left. It contains the books of Josue (fols 1v–74r), Judges (fols 75r–138v), Song of Songs (fols 139r–149r) and Qohelet (149r–172r), written

in Hebrew and Latin parallel columns with a *superscriptio* and very occasional glosses.[61]

3. MS Oxford, Bodl. Or. 46 (Catalogue Neubauer/Beit-Arié nº 101) was copied by the same Hebrew scribe as the two previous manuscripts, in the Hebrew direction, from right to left. It contains the books of Ezra-Nehemiah (fols 1r–64v), Job (fols 65r–118r), Lamentations (fols 118v–128v), Esther (fols 129r–150v) and Ruth (fols 150v–158v). The Latin part of the volume is unfinished. There is no parallel column of Latin translation, the *superscriptio* and glosses cover only the book of Ezra-Nehemiah.[62]
4. MS Oxford, Bodl. Or. 62 (Catalogue Neubauer/Beit-Arié nº 88) was copied by two Hebrew scribes, one of them identical to that of the previous manuscripts. It contains the complete book of Ezechiel, copied in Latin direction, from left to right. The Hebrew text is accompanied by a Latin translation in a parallel column as well as the *superscriptio*. It contains occasional marginal glosses.[63]
5. MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 6 (Catalogue Neubauer/Beit-Arié nº 2435) mentioned above is a Hebrew manuscript of Rashi on the Prophets and Hagiographa which had been studied and annotated by the same Christian Hebraist as the other books.[64]

As noted, these five manuscripts and the psalter contain glosses written by the same Latin hand. Furthermore, the Hebrew parts of the

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[61] Cf. Loewe, "Latin superscriptio MSS on portions of the Hebrew Bible other than the Psalter": 64–65; Beit-Arié, "The Valmadonna Pentateuch and the problem of pre-expulsion Anglo-Hebrew manuscripts": 134; Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux*; 224–228.

[62] Cf. Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux*, 234–237.

[63] Cf. Colette Sirat, "Notes sur la circulation des livres entre juifs et chrétiens au Moyen Age," in *Du copiste au collectionneur. Mélanges d'histoire des textes et des bibliothèques en l'honneur d'André Vernet*, eds. Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda and Jean-François Genest, Bibliologia: Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia 18 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 393; Olszowy-Schlanger, "The knowledge and practice of Hebrew grammar," 120–122; Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux*, 229–233.

[64] Cf. Loewe, "Latin superscriptio MSS on portions of the Hebrew Bible other than the Psalter": 68; Beit-Arié, "The Valmadonna Pentateuch and the problem of pre-expulsion Anglo-Hebrew manuscripts": 134–135; Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux*, 283–288; Olszowy-Schlanger, "Rachi en latin."

MS CCC 9, St. John's College 143, Bodl. Or. 46 and Bodl. Or. 62 are also copied by the same Hebrew hand. Rashi's commentary in MS CCC 6 was written by a different Hebrew hand, but its connection with the other manuscripts is further documented by the presence on fol. 1r of a Latin note on chronology between Isaac's birth and Jacob's arrival in Egypt, which is the exact translation of a passage in Hebrew written on a fly-leaf of MS Bodl. Or. 62. This passage is also annotated by the familiar omnipresent Latin hand.[65]

Besides the copy of Rashi's commentary, we have therefore five annotated Bible manuscripts which cover the following biblical books: Josue, Judges, Samuel, Ezechiel, Psalms, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Qohelet, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles.[66] These texts constitute a considerable portion of the immediate sources which were used to compile the dictionary. However, the dictionary was compiled on the basis of the full vocabulary of the Hebrew Bible, so, unfortunately, many biblical books used by the authors of the dictionary are no longer available to us: the entire Pentateuch, Kings, Isaiah and Jeremiah as well as the Twelve Minor Prophets. The Hagiographa are well represented, since only Proverbs and Daniel are missing. The available texts give unique insights into the process of creation of this linguistic tool from the stage of the analysis of the biblical text to the final product—a comprehensive and alphabetically ordered dictionary.

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[65] For the edition and analysis of the Latin and Hebrew passage which seems to be based on a version of a Hebrew chronology such as *Seder Olam Rabba* or *Seder Olam Zutta*, cf. Olszowy-Schlanger, "Rachi en latin": 143–148.

[66] For convenience, I have listed the books in the order they appear in the modern editions of the Massoretic text, which was not necessarily the order in which the books were copied or bound in medieval Ashkenazi manuscripts. Some of the five biblical manuscripts contain parts bound together which were copied as separate codicological units (though by the same scribe), such as the books of Samuel and Chronicles in MS CCC 9, which are copied in different directions. In such cases, it is of course impossible to talk about the sequence of the biblical books. However, the biblical books (at least some of them) in MS Bodl. Or. 46 for instance were copied in the order in which they appear in the manuscripts, since the beginning of a new book is found on the verso of the same folio as the end of the preceding book, or even on the same page (Esther followed immediately by Ruth on fol. 150v).

Conclusions

The Hebrew—Latin—Old French—English dictionary in MS Longleat House 21 is a highly original work of medieval Christian scholarship. The analysis of its sources shows how deeply it was indebted to the Jewish literature in Hebrew. The link established between the dictionary and six Hebrew manuscripts glossed by the same Christian Hebraist some twenty years earlier shows that it was not an isolated work created *ex nihilo*, but that it was a part of a tradition or a 'school' of Christian Hebraists in England. It is difficult at present to trace the history of this 'school'. Indeed, while the entries of the dictionary closely follow the structure and the contents of the marginal glosses in these *superscriptio* manuscripts, it is impossible to ascertain whether these Hebrew manuscripts were annotated in order to serve as the basis for a future dictionary, or whether the glosses were a 'by-product' of the work focused on translation, and the dictionary was an independent initiative which simply used the glosses as a convenient source to build upon. Indeed, there is no doubt that the dictionary itself was copied at Ramsey Abbey in East Anglia and that the *superscriptio* manuscripts it used were kept at Ramsay library in the Middle Ages, but, while the dictionary itself is a product of the Ramsey scriptorium, the exact origin of the Hebrew-Latin *superscriptio* manuscripts is less easy to ascertain.

The dependence of the dictionary on the earlier glosses makes it at times difficult to make a clear distinction between various strata of this composition or to propose a clear scenario of the work. It can be shown that the grammar of Ibn Parḥon, the Aramaic Targum as well as Rashi's commentaries were consulted at the stage of the glosses that mention them. The glosses contain furthermore the mention of a certain *ebreus*, which may indicate that a Jewish scholar was sometimes consulted at the stage of the original study of the texts. However, the mentions of the *superscriptio* and of the gloss itself in the dictionary obviously belong to a later editorial stage. However, even if we have to take into consideration the different stages of its creation and consider that the original annotators of the Hebrew manuscripts were different from the compilers of the dictionary, it still seems that these different Christian scholars had common aims, methods and approaches.

These aims and approaches appear to be unique in the history of medieval Christian Hebraism. They neither focus on theological

debates or polemics against the Jews nor overtly fight for their conversion. The dictionary and the glosses are a work of Christian scholars who did not feel compelled to permanently stress their identity and did not feel apologetic for using the original Hebrew biblical and, most importantly, rabbinic sources. Their main aim was indeed to establish the correct basic meanings of the words of the Hebrew Bible through 'philological' research: references to the context, comparisons with Aramaic translations, references to the reliable authorities. For the choice of these reliable authorities, the authors of the dictionary consciously left the trodden path of the patristic 'pseudo-Hebraism' in favour of the reliance (albeit informed and controlled) on original Jewish sources.

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